

Message Text

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ACTION H-03

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INFO AMCONSUL CAPETOWN IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY DARESSALAAM
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LILONGWE
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
USMISSION USUN

C O N F I D E N T I A L GABORONE 0866

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PDEV SF BC
SUBJECT: SOUTH AFRICA: CONVERSATION BETWEEN MINISTER MOGWE AND
CONGRESSMAN SOLARZ

REF: GABORONE 0854

1. AFTER MORE THAN AN HOUR'S DISCUSSION ON RHODESIA ON
MARCH 27 WITH MINEXTAFF MOGWE AND ADVISERS, REPORTED REFTEL,
VISITING CONGRESSMAN SOLARZ TURNED TO SUBJECT OF SOUTH AFRICA.
SOLARZ SAID SOUTH AFRICA HAD BEEN DESCRIBED AS ON THE VERGE
OF ERUPTION. WOULD THERE LIKELY BE A LIBERATION STRUGGLE AS
IN OTHER SOUTHERN AFRICAN COUNTRIES OR COULD THE ARIKAANERS
CONTAIN IT, SOLARZ ASKED.

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2. MOGWE REPLIED THAT SOUTH AFRICA HAS MADE CHANGES,
EVEN IF ONLY "COSMETIC". PREVIOUS DAY MOGWE HAD
LISTENED TO REPORT OF SOCCER MATCHES BETWEEN BLACK AND
WHITE TEAMS. THIS WAS THE FIRST TIME HE HAD HEARD SUCH
MATCHES WERE TAKING PLACE. SO THERE IS SLOW CHANGE,
MOGWE SAID. THE TROUBLE IS THAT SAG IS SIMULTANEOUSLY
CREATING BANTUSTANS WHICH GREATLY COMPLICATE SITUATION.

IF SOUTH AFRICA REMAINED INTACT AS A GEOGRAPHIC ENTITY, MOGWE WOULD SAY: "LET'S KEEP UP THE TEMPO OF CHANGE." IF THAT COULD BE DONE, HE BELIEVED THERE WOULD BE "NO OPEN WAR". IF, ON THE OTHER HAND, BANTUSTANS ARE "ACCEPTED" AND SOUTH AFRICA BECOMES A "WHITE STATE", IT WOULD MEAN BLACKS COULD NO LONGER GO AND WORK THERE. CONDITION OF BANTUSTAN LIFE WOULD BE SUCH THAT BLACKS WOULD NOT ACCEPT IT. BLACKS REGARD "THE WHOLE OF SOUTH AFRICA AS THEIR HOME". A STRUGGLE IS BEING WAGED IN SOUTH AFRICA. MOGWE SAID HE DID NOT KNOW IF ARMED STRUGGLE WAS APPROPRIATE. HE KNEW THE TERRAIN WAS NOT SUITABLE; THE COUNTRYSIDE IS "NATURALLY DEFOLIATED". URBAN GUERRILLA WARFARE IS POSSIBLE. ACTS OF SABOTAGE WILL NO DOUBT OCCUR AND LIFE IN SOUTH AFRICA WILL BECOME "UNCOMFORTABLE". THE YOUNGER GENERATION WILL NOT ACCEPT TRANSKEI, BOPHUTHATSWANA AND OTHER HOMELANDS. IN SUMMARY, WHILE RULING OUT CONVENTIONAL WAR, MOGWE FELT URGAN GUERRILLA ACTIONS WOULD TAKE PLACE.

3. URBAN BLACKS. SOLARZ SAID THE PLIGHT OF SIX MILLION URBAN BLACKS POSED A REAL PROBLEM. IT WAS DIFFICULT TO SEE HOW THEY COULD ACCEPT THE IDEA OF BANTUSTANS, ESPECIALLY WHEN IT WAS APPARENT THAT THEY WERE BEING CREATED AS AN EXCUSE FOR DEALING WITH SOUTH AFRICA'S PROBLEM. BANTUSTANS DO NOT SOLVE PROBLEM OF URBAN BLACKS, SOLARZ SAID. MOGWE AGREED, ADDING THAT THERE

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HAS BEEN NO MOVEMENT TO BOPHUTHATSWANA OR TRANSKEI EITHER BY YOUTH OR OLDER PEOPLE WHO MIGHT REGARD IT AS AN OPPORTUNITY TO AVOID AFRIKAANER DOMINATION. SO "THE STRUGGLE IS CONTINUING". DID THE MINISTER THINK IT WOULD BE AN ARMED STRUGGLE, SOLARZ ASKED. MOGWE SAID HE DID NOT RULE OUT A "FIGHTING WAR" BUT AGAIN THOUGHT URBAN GUERRILLA WARFARE WAS POSSIBLE.

4. LEGAL PRESSURES. SOLARZ SAID THERE WAS WIDESPREAD "MMORAL OUTRAGE" AMONG AMERICAN PEOPLE AND IN THE CONGRESS WITH SAG POLICIES. HIS COMMITTEE (HOUSE INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS COMMITTEE) WAS SEEKING TO DEVISE A STRATEGY TO PROMOTE MAJORITY RULE. SPECIFICALLY, SOLARZ ADDED, HIRC IS CONSIDERING PROHIBITION OF NEW US INVESTMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA AND REQUIREMENT THAT EXISTING COMPANIES COMPLY WITH A CODE OF CONDUCT. SOLARZ NOTED THERE WERE TWO ARGUMENTS AGAINST PROPOSED LEGISLATION: FIRST, THAT IT WOULD HAVE NO IMPACT, SECOND, THAT IT WOULD ONLY DRIVE SOUTH AFRICA DEEPER INTO THE LAAGER. SOME PEOPLE SUGGEST WE SHOULD EXPAND ECONOMIC CONTACTS. WHAT DID MOGWE THINK? MOGWE QUESTIONED DESIRABILITY OF EXPANDING CONTACTS. IT WAS TRUE, HE ADDED, THAT IN THE EVENT OF

BOYCOTT OR LIMITING INVESTMENT, BLACKS WILL SUFFER, THIS IS TRUE EVEN FOR BOTSWANA, AS SAG NEVER CEASES TO POINT OUT IN ITS OPPOSITION TO BOYCOTTS. ON THE OTHER HAND, MOGWE ADDED, IF INSTEAD OF EXPANDING INVESTMENT AND INDUSTRIES IN SOUTH AFRICA, YOU BRING INDUSTRIES TO BOTSWANA, "WE WON'T SUFFER". IT WOULD REFUTE SAG ARGUMENT THAT NEIGHBORS WOULD SUFFER MORE THAN SAG. IN OTHER WORDS, THE ALTERNATIVE WOULD BE TO DEVELOP INDUSTRIES IN SURROUNDING COUNTRIES. AS FOR EFFECT OF WITHDRAWING ECONOMIC/FINANCIAL SUPPORT, MOGWE SAID IT WAS "A MYTH" TO SAY SUCH WITHDRAWALS DO NOT HURT SOUTH AFRICA. EVEN IAN SMITH ADMITS SANCTIONS HAVE BEEN "DISTURBING" AND HAVE PLAYED A ROLE IN FORCING CONCESSIONS. ON THE OTHER HAND, EVEN UNLIMITED EXPANSION OF TRADE AND
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INVESTMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA WILL NOT CHANGE SAG POLICIES. SOLARZ FOCUSED HIS QUESTION: "SHOULD US PROHIBIT INVESTMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA? DOES IT MAKE SENSE?" MOGWE'S REPLY: "YES, BUT BE SURE TO STRENGTHEN NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES."

5. EFFECTS. SOLARZ ASKED WHAT WOULD BE GAINED BY WITHHOLDING INVESTMENT? MOGWE SAID IT IS AN INDICATION OF RESENTMENT. IT IS A WAY OF DECLARING: "WE DON'T LIKE YOUR POLICIES." PARTICULARLY IF ACCOMPANIED BY INVESTMENT ELSEWHERE NEARBY SAG WILL KNOW IT HAS LOST INVESTMENT THAT WOULD OTHERWISE HAVE GONE TO SOUTH AFRICA. SOLARZ ASKED WHAT THE SHORT RUN IMPACT WOULD BE. MOGWE REPLIED THAT IMPACT OF US POLICIES, VIS-A-VIS SAG, THUS FAR IS SUCH THAT "YOU CANNOT SAY YOU HAVE ACHIEVED NOTHING". SOME CHANGE HAS TAKEN PLACE. THE SOUTH AFRICANS, EVEN THE MOST "THICK SKINNED" AMONG THEM, REALIZE THAT THEY CANNOT IGNORE US POWER AND INFLUENCE.

6. FOR LUSAKA. PLEASE PASS A COPY OF THIS MESSAGE TO REP. SOLARZ IN ACCORDANCE WITH HIS REQUEST.
NORLAND

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